History Of The Banu Al-Ukhaydhir Dynasty In Al-Yamama

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ABSTRACT

This paper deals with the establishment of a Shi'i dynasty in the region of Al-Yamama (3rd/9th century). Al-Yamama was one of the richest economic sectors in the heart of Arabia during the early Islamic era, and had developed a feeling of a regional identity. It was a suitable haven for Muhammed B. Yusuf of Banu Al-Ukhaydhir, who fled from Hijaz, to maintain a political autonomy. It seems that the Yamamis welcomed this move, hoping to regain their independence from the 'Abbasid Caliphate.

The history of Al-Yamama and the dynasty of the Banu Al-Ukhaydhir were rarely mentioned by the scholars, due to the lack of written material. The present work consulted for the first time, early primary sources, such as geners of history, literature, geography, and genealogy.

From the scant information available, the paper traces the influence of the dynasty in Al-Yamama and Arabia. It concluded that internal and external factors contribute to the downfall of the dynasty (9th/11th century). However, the awareness and ambition of the Yamamis did not come to an end with the disappearance of the Banu Al-Ukhaydhir from the political scene .

EVALUATION OF SOURCES

A little over a thousand years ago, a Zaydi leader was forced to flee from Mecca into the foothills of Arabia with a small band of followers. He went to a region called Al-Yamama, where he was able to gain acceptance by the peoples who shared in his anti-caliphall sentiments. This Zaydi leader established a settlement for his people in Al-Yamama, and his authority in the area grew quickly. Eventually, he realized complete control over the entire region. These events marked the birth of a dynasty which was to last for over two hundred years, the control of one of the richest economic sectors of the middle ages in Arabia, and maintain total political independence from the 'Abbasid Caliphate. This dynasty was called the Banu Al-Ukhaydhir. Its influence in Arabia can be traced to the present day. Yet this dynasty has essentially escaped scholarly attention.

The need for an interpretative and well-researched work regarding the early history of Al-Yamama, and the dynasty of the Banu Al-Ukhaydhir has been evident for some time. Sources scarcely touch upon the history of the dynasty. This lack of material has led to some complexities and ambiguities in the work undertaken. The ruling family of the Banu Al-Ukhaydhir dynasty left behind no written documents, and contemporary scholars rarely mention them. Furthermore, no single account of their own work or their adherents is extant. One may ask how a dynasty, which ruled a considerable amount of territory in the heart of Arabia for over two hundred years could escape the attention and interest of scholars. One can only speculate that the lack of materials on the subject must be the main reason.

Most of the detailed narratives were conveyed in genealogical manuscripts rather than in printed books. That is why these manuscripts have been consulted despite the fact that some of them date from a later time period. As far as could be determined, this is the first time that many of these works have been consulted for any published academic research. They are (I) Ibn Al-Muhanna (d. 13th century) Al-Mushajjar. (ii) Ibn a-Tiqtaqi (d. 1309) Al-Asayli[1] . (iii) Al-Banakti (d. 1329) Al-Rawdat Uli Al-Albab Fi Ma'rifat Al-Tawarikh Wa Al-Ansab[2]. (iv) Ibn Ma'iya (d. 1374) Sabk Al-Dhahab Fi Ma'rifat Al-Nasab[3]. (v) Ibn 'Anaba (d. 1424) Bahr Al-Ansab[4]. (vi) Al-Hasan Shadqam (d. 16th century) Zahrat Al-Riyadh Wa Zilal Al-Hiyadh[5]. (vii) Munajjim Bashi (d. 1702), Jami' Al-Duwal[6] .

Early and primary sources have been used to derive clues about the history of the Banu Al-Ukhaydhir. However, most of the sources are similar in their lack of discussion on the subject of the Banu al-Ukhaydhir. One exception is the narrative of Ibn 'Anaba in his book *'Umda al-Talib Fi Ansab Ali Bin Abi Talib*, which stands out for its clarity and relative completeness in addressing a wide variety of subjects. It seems that Ibn 'Anaba was able to draw on information form many sources which are now lost. One of the most distinctive sources he used was that of the *Kitab al-Mujdi* by Ibn Abu Al-Ghana'im Al-'Amri, a genealogist from the first half of the 11th century. Moreover, Al-'Amri took information from earlier sources which were unavailable to Ibn 'Anaba. For example, the works of genealogists such as Al-Sharif, Abu al-Hasan al-'Abdali and Abu 'Ali bin Al-Husayn al-'Alawi and Abu al-Hasan al-Ashnani al-Basri. Ibn 'Anabah also used the sources that date from the 9th, 10th, and 11th centuries.

The sources used for this article are from the genres of history, literature, geography, and genealogy. Some, if not all, give unclear accounts

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(1) The Manuscripts of Al-Mushajjar, by Ibn al-Muhanna.

(2) Al-Banakti, Fakhr al-Din Dawud, Tarikh al-Banakti.

(3) Ibn Ma'iya Mohammad b. al-Qasim, Sabk al-Dhahab.

(4) Ibn 'Anaba Jamal al-Din, Bahr al-Ansab.

(5) Al-Hasan Shadqam, Zahrat al-Riyadh.

(6) Munajjim Bashi, Ahmed, Jami' al-Duwal.

or divergent narratives and information. For example, some historians and genealogists have traced the Banu al-Ukhaydhir back to Al-Hasan bin 'Ali bin Abi Talib. Others have indicated Al-Husayn as their ancestor[7]. Even a trusted and reputable historian like al-Tabari, who was contemporary to the Banu al- Ukhaydhir dynasty, ignored more than 100 years of their existence. He continuously reported that al-Yamama was an 'Abbasid region despite its separation from the central government[8].

Even though the Banu al-Ukhaydhir was a shi'i dynasty, there is no account of the Banu al-Ukhaydhir in the shi'i sources save a few such as Ibn 'Anba' work. In fact, shi'i sources are similar to the sunni ones in that they do not mention the Banu al-Ukhaydhir. The fact that they are not disccussed remains unexplained. Perhaps since the Banu al-Ukhaydhir did not carry out sectarian preaching in their community, and did not establish teaching centers, they did not attract the attention of Shi'i scholars to register their activities; for instance Ibn Zuhra (d. 1515) never mentioned them in his narrative. This view certainly contrasts with the currently accepted notion that the Banu al-Ukhaydhir actively imposed the practice of their doctrine on the Yamamis[9].

REGIONAL POLITICS

Al-Yamama is a mountainous region located in the centre of the Arabian peninsula. The mountain range which makes up the better part of this region is distinguished by its crescent shape. Al-Yamama stretches from the *Al-Mandafin* sandbank where it meets the southwest entrance of the Empty Quarter. From the North it reaches *Al-Dahna*. The Eastern sector of al-Yamama joined territory with Bahrayn, though there was no distinct border. From the west, its border is indisputable, however, it seems that the *Sawad Bahila*, the rural area of the Bahila tribe is considered the end of al-Yamama in the west.

Historical accounts repeatedly mention that a number of areas to the east and west outside the region were considered part of al-Yamama property. These accounts reflect the fact that geographical boundaries usually did not correspond with those of administrative or legally documented boundaries. The recognized boundaries of al-Yamama depended on the political situation that prevailed at the time. In addition, the control which certain Arabian tribes exercised over some parts of al-Yamama fluctuated. The extent of any tribe's power was dependent on the power of the governor of al-Yamama. Al-Yamama was well known for its valleys and clear waters that flowed from its springs and wells. Abundant water resources allowed al-Yamama to become a very important centre for agriculture. The region was also rich in minerals and boasted many mines. For these reasons, al-Yamama was included among the prosperous settlements of ancient Arabia[10].

Not surprisingly, al-Yamama attracted many tribes, sub-tribes and individual people as a suitable place to live. The region also included many permanent settlements. Sources indicate that al-Yamama possessed flourishing settlements and farms since ancient times, Indeed, they were flourishing since the period of Tasm and Jadis, ancient tribes which are mentioned in the old sources[11].

The Yamama region became more renowned several centuries prior to the coming of Islam when the Banu Hanifa tribe settled there. Agriculture, the mining industry, and trade developed and progressed. Eventually, the political structure of al-Yamama developed beyond a tribal autonomy like most of the rest of the Arabian Peninsula's settlements. It became, in other words, a self-sufficient state[12].

Al-Yamama gained importance during the first century of Islam, not only due to its political ambition, but also because of a religion-political movement in competition with Islam led by Musaylima bin Habib al-Hanafi. This movement aimed to ensure and protect al-Yamama from outside powers. As a result, al-Yamama faced annihilation when it was conquered by Muslims who established the unity of the Arabian Peninsula.

During the ealry Islamic era, al-Yamama was annexed to al-Bahrayn and its historical name was abandoned. In that period, al-Yamama was known as al'Urudh. During the Umayyad period, al-Yamama was subjected to many changes. For example, it was annexed to Medina, and later rule over al-Yamama was granted to the governor of Basra. Al-Yamama was then made an independent administrative unit, but this did not last for long. Its administration was eventually restored to Basra[13].

During the period of the 'Abbasid Caliphate, al-Yamama became less important in the agenda of the policy makers in Baghdad[14], although it was ruled by the governor of Mecca at that time[15]. During the reign of the second 'Abbasid Caliph, al-Mansur (r. 754-775), al-Yamama was governed by Qutham bin Al-'Abbas, a member of the Caliphal family[16].

With the re-emergence of Kharijite activities in the 9th century, which led to a turmoil in eastern

(7) Ibn al-Muhanna, al-Mushajjar, 31-32;
Ibn al-Taqtaqi, al-Asali, 23-35;
Ibn 'Anaba, Umda al-Talib..., 111-115;....

(8) Al-Tabari, Mohammad bin. Jarir, Tarikh al-Rusul...

(9) Ibn Zuhra, Taj al-Din..., Ghayat al-Ikhtisar.

(10) Ibn Rusta, Abu Ali Ahmad, al-A'laq al-Nafisa; al-Qazwaini, Zakariya..., Athar al-Bilad...

(11) Yaqut al-Hamawi, Shihab al-Din, Mu'jam al-Buldan.

(12) Al-Bakri, Mu'jam, 85.

(13) Khalifa bin Khayyat, Kitab al-Tarikh.
Al-Baladhuri, Ahmad bin Yahya, Ansab al-Ashraf.

(14) Tabari, Tarikh, 3: 138.

(15) Al-Zubayri, Mus'ab, Nasab Quraysh.
Tabari, Tarikh, 3: 138.

(16) Tabari, Tarikh, 3: 416.

Arabia, the Caliph ordered that al-Yamama and Bahrayn be annexed once again to Basra in order to control the trade route which might be affected by the Kharijite threats[17]. This manner of governing al-Yamama finally ended when it was annexed to the Hijaz and its administration oscillated between Mecca and Medina. A region generally ignored by the 'Abbasid Caliphate, somewhat remote in nature, al-Yamama was a perfect safe-haven for political opponents, a place where they could openly recruit supporters. In addition, the feeling of regional identity that was briefly and widely expressed by many revolts against the caliphate during the Rashidun and Umayyid periods once again appeared with the advent of the 'Alawid Banu al-Ukhaydhir.

Hence, during the period when the Banu al-Ukhaydhir were coming to power, the caliphate's administration of al-Yamama fell into a state of uncertainty. The political situation in al-Yamama affected Bahrayn and also the main road that linked Iraq with Arabia. Tribal disturbances occurred in those regions. Ibn Khaldun mentions that members of various tribes of that region engaged in highway robbery, ureaked violence on its inhabitants while neglecting their own religious obligations[18]. The Persian traveler Nasir Khusraw described the tribesmen around al-Yamama, who committed the above mentioned acts as people without belief[19]. The conduct of these tribes may be attributed to the lack of security that al-Yamama experienced in the period of the caliphate's weakening. On the other hand, the relative safety of the region made it a suitable place for the Banu al-Ukhaydhir. Thus, beginning from the year 864, sources recount the story of Muhammad bin Yusuf al-Ukhaydhir's flight to al-Yamama and his success in establishing an 'Alawid dynasty, the dynasty of the Banu al-Ukhaydhir.

EMERGENCE OF THE BANU AL-UKHAYDHIR

The name Ukhaydhir is a diminutive of the name *Akhdhar*, which means 'green'. *Akhdhar* can also be used to mean a 'blackish' colour. It is often used to refer to Arabians whose skin colour is somewhere between light and dark. From the same root comes *Khadhra*, which means 'the colour of the sky. *Khadhra* can also mean a 'majority', as in a majority of people. Also, from the same root we have *al-Khudhriyah*, a renowned variety of dates is known in al-Yamama to the present day, and which were possibly named after the Banu al-Ukhaydhir. The word also appears as *al-Ukhaydhir*, which is the name of a salty river in Medina. This same form of the world is the Arabic word for 'Indian fly' (or common house fly, Infecta diptera), and is also the name of a place between Tabuk and Medina, where the Prophet once stopped to pray[20].

From this same root comes the word *Khudhyr*. *Khudhyr* was the nickname of Ibrahim bin Mus'ab bin al-Zubayr, who was a brother of Abdullah, the governor of al-Yamama in 783[21]. It seems that *Ukhaydhir* was also a nickname which was given to Yusuf bin Ibrahim bin Musa, who was called *al-Ukhaydhir al-Kabir* (al-Ukhaydhir the Great). His son, Muhammad was known, as one might guess, by the nickname of al-Ukhaydhir al-Saghir (al-Ukhaydhir the Small). It was al-Ukhaydhir al-Saghir who was the founder of the Banu al-Ukhaydhir dynasty. So this nickname did not start with the founder of the dynasty, but was established at an earlier time. However, it is not clear why Yusuf was nicknamed *al-Ukhaydhir*. One may speculate that it referred to his darker coloured skin[22]. It is mentioned in the sources that Yusuf's family were dark skinned by nature, and that his grandfather Musa also went by the nickname al-Jun, which means dark or dark brown when referring to skin colour. It is interesting to note, however, that the name al-Jun was not passed down, but rather a name with a similar meaning, al-Ukhaydhir, was used. One may draw the conclusion that the reason why only Muhammad, the founder of the dynasty, and none of his brothers received this nickname was that he was the only one who inherited the genes for dark skin colour. It is possible, however, that one of the other meanings associated with the word Ukhaydhir was meant to describe some other unique characteristic of Muhammad.

The family of the Banu al-Ukhaydhir was known by this name before coming to al-Yamama from the Hijaz. Indeed, their pedigree goes back to 'Ali bin Abi Talib. The present researcher has compiled a genealogical chart, which outlines the ancestry of the Banu al-Ukhaydhir. In order to compile this chart, some books and original manuscripts were consulted (see note on the chart). This genealogical chart is composed of several names of various branches from the descendants of Musa al-Jun, who was the great-great-grandfather of the founder of the dynasty. It appears that most of those people had either settled or visited al-Yamama, which is the reason they are included in this chart. The chart, however, does not begin with the founder of the dynasty, ancestor. In providing this additional genealogical information, it is hoped that those who are interested will be able to see the many important connections which the Banu al-Ukhaydhir had through lineage. (See notes on the chart and the chart in the end of this article).

Reports of the Banu al-Ukhaydhir started to appear in the Hijaz around 864 with the revolt of Isma'il bin Yusuf bin Ibrahim, who took over

(17) Tabari, Tarikh, 3: 367, 506. Al-Ya'qubi, Ahmad..., Tarikh.

(18) Ibn Khaldun, Abu Yazid, Kitab al-I'bar...

(19) Nasir Khusraw, Safar Namah.

(20) Al-Zubaidi, Sayyid al-Murtada, Taj al-Arus; Ibn Manzur, Muhammad, Lisan al-Arab.

(21) Tabari, Tarikh, 9: 166.

(22) Ibn 'Anaba, 'Umda, 111.

Mecca during the Caliphate of the "Abbasid al-Musta'in (r. 826-855). It seems that Isma'il took advantage of the struggle between al-Mu'tazz (r. 866-869) and al-Musta'in and the disturbance of the security of the Caliphate. However, Isma'il was able to control Mecca for a while, and he forced the 'Abbasid governor Abu al-Fadhil to flee. Sources speak of vandalism and destruction being associated with Isma'il's escapades. In particular, Ismai'il and his followers were said to have desecrated the K'ab'a and other holy shrines and also to have looted them of valuables. The holy Kiswa of the K'ab'a, the black cloth which covers it, was among the items stolen. After Isma'il ravaged Mecca in this manner, he marched to Medina, the second holy city of Islam, which contains the Mosque and Tomb of the Prophet. There, Isma'il laid siege to the city of Medina, but soon found that its defenses were too strong to breach. Thereupon, he marched his army back to Mecca where he once again took control of the city, confining its people so that many were said to have perished of hunger and thirst[23].

This tragic episode ended in 866 with an outbreak of smallpox that claimed the life of Isma'il. Isma'il had the reputation of an ill-mannered individual, unworthy of praise. Isma'il was succeeded by his brother Muhammad, the founder of the Banu al-Ukhaydhir. According to various accounts, Muhammad followed in the footsteps of his brother. Upon hearing of the suffering and destruction that Isma'il had unleashed upon Mecca, the 'Abbasid Caliph al-Mu'taz dispatched a company of soldiers lead by al-Safah al-Asroshi. But before al-Safah al-Asroshi and his army got to Mecca, Muhammad had already taken his people and fled to al-Yamama[24].

THE BANU AL-UKHAYDHIR IN AL-YAMAMA

It is not clear when Muhammad decided to seek shelter in al-Yamama. One historian reported that, with the approach of the Caliph's army Muhammad was forced to evacuate Mecca and thereupon fled with his followers directly to al-Yamama[25]. However, it is difficult to accept these accounts. It is reasonable to think that, Muhammad must have made arrangements with some prominent and influential figures in al-Yamama such as his father-in-law's people, for had he not done so it would have been very difficult for him to have taken his people into the territory to establish any kind of settlement. Moreover, the Yamamis would not have accepted an initial incursion into their territory of any unknown peoples. There was no known precedent of 'Alawids seeking shelter in al-Yamama for Muhammad to follow. It is interesting to note that, Muhammad faced no opposition or resistance when he entered al-Yamama, our sources mentioned nothing, even though he and his band of followers only amounted to a small and vulnerable group which could have been easily defeated at the hands of the Yamamis. It is possible that the reason the Banu al-Ukhaydhir were allowed to enter al-Yamama was due to their political philosophy. Indeed, the Yamamis may have been impressed with the resistance Isma'il and his followers put up against the caliphate. Al-Yamama, after all, was a region which wanted to live apart from the caliphate and to see to its own affairs. So they may have seen in the Banu al-Ukhaydhir a means for regional autonomy to be realized.

Shortly after his arrival in al-Yamama, Muhammad bin Yusuf in 866 was able to establish his new family dynasty. Once again, we find that there is no mention of resistance or opposition from the Yamamis and this can be taken to mean that there must have been some form of truce or mutual acceptance between the two peoples. There are also some accounts which place the establishment of the Banu al-Ukhaydhir dynasty in 868 not 866. Here, one must either question the accuracy of these reports, or assume that Muhammad initially left Mecca in 868 to seek al-Yamama, two years after his brother's death. Another possible explanation given for this date is that he left Mecca in 866, fled to al-Yamama, and was engaged for two years in establishing his dynasty[26].

None of these hypotheses seem valid for the following reasons: first, Muhammad had to leave Mecca in 866 due to the arrival of the caliph's army and due to his brother Isma'il's conduct. Thus, there would have been no place in the Hijaz where Muhammad and his followers would have been safe. Second, all available accounts suggest that Isma'il died in 866 and since the journey from Mecca to al-Yamama, is only a few days' march, one can assume that Muhammad would have arrived in the same year. Third, there is not a single report to indicate that Muhammad encountered any trouble at the hands of the Yamamis in establishing his authority in the region. Therefore, the evidence seems to be in favour of Muhammad having left Mecca in 866 and established his dynasty in that same year.

To summarize, we can clearly see three reasons why Muhammad would initially have chosen al-Yamama as a place to escape the clutches of the caliphal army, and eventually as a place where he could establish a safe settlement: (i) al-Yamama was in a remote area not within easy reach of the caliph's army, (ii) al-Yamama was already known for its resistance to the authority of the caliph, so we can assume that the cause of Muhammad and his followers would have received some sympathy,

(23) Tabari, Tarikh, 3: 644; Ibn Hazm, Jamhara Ansab al-Arab; al-Qalqashandi, Nihayat al-Arab; Jami' al-Duwal, 443.

(24) Ibn 'Anaba, 'Umada, 113; al-Usami, Abdulmalik, Simt al-Nujum. See also Lubab al-Ansab.

(25) Tabari, Tarikh, 3: 644; Ibn 'Anaba, 'Umda, 113.

(26) Ibn al-Tiqtaqa, al-Asali, 23-85; Al-Qalqashandi, Nihayat..., 90; Munajjim Bashi, Jami' al-Duwal...

(iii) Muhammad may have had some prior arrangements with some of the leading figures in al-Yamama, specifically he may have been granted the support of his father-in-law's people, the Banu Jafar bin Kilab, who lived in close proximity to al-Yamama[27].

Al-Khidhrima, an ancient agricultural town, became the capital of the new dynasty. Here, one cannot escape the relationship between the etymological derivation of the name of the new capital and the title of the new dynasty. The only contemporary description of the capital which has survived is that of Nasir Khusraw, who wrote, "The town has a large fortress and a beautiful mosque. The remaining quarters of the town contain the market and the shops of various craftsmen"[28]. From this description we can assume that the town was divided into two parts. The first part containing the fortress and probably also the residence of the ruling family, the remainder of the town would have been composed of the common homes, market and shops of the townspeople.

ADMINISTRATION

The new dynasty most likely drew its name from Yusuf bin Musa, who was nicknamed al-Ukhaydhir al-Kabir, and not after the founder of the dynasty, Muhammad, who was nicknamed al-Ukhaydhir al-Saghir, although, most scholars have believed that it was the other way around. Muhammad ruled from 866 to 867 and was succeeded by his son Yusuf, who probably ruled for several years. Yusuf was succeeded by his son Isma'il, who became emir after his father's death and ruled until his own death in 928 in a battle with the Qarmatians. His brother al-Hasan then became emir, but his reign only lasted for a short time.

In 928, al-Hasan's son Ahmad ruled for an uncertain period of time. After this point, accounts concerning the rest of the rulers and the sequence in which they ruled are somewhat disorganized and sketchy. One account, for example, mentions that Salih bin Isma'il bin Muhammad took over the reign of the dynasty[29]. Other accounts state that the post of emirship was seized by Muhammad, the son of the former deceased ruler, Ahmad bin al-Hasan. Then his other son Ja'far, (who possessed two nicknames, Abu al-Muqalad and 'Abriya) succeeded his brother Muhammad. He was followed in power by his sons Muhammad and al-Hasan successively. Then Kirzab bin 'Ali bin Ja'far. After this point in time there are no accounts which deal with the post of emir. It seems, however, that the dynasty began its assimilation into Arabian tribes around al-Yamama, and this process may have begun after the rule of the eleventh ruler which may have ended in the begining of the eleventh century[30].

(27) Ibn al-Tiqtaqa, al Asali, 23...

(28) Nasir Khusraw, Safar Namah, 141...

(29) Ibn 'Anaba, Sabk al-Dhahab, 39.

(30) Ibn Hazm, Jamhara, 46;
Ibn Khaldun, Al-Ibar, 4: 22;

THE BANU AL-UKHAYDHIR AND THE QARMATIANS

The history of the Banu al-Ukhaydhir was distinguished by its wars with the Qarmatians. Historical accounts mention no other hostilities or military activities as having occurred between the Banu al-Ukhaydhir and other political powers in the region, such as the Zaydis in Yemen, or even the 'Abbasid Caliphate". The fact that these accounts are silent on the matter of the external relations of the Banu al-Ukhaydhir suggests that they chose to maintain only limited ties with any outside powers. It is most likely that the Banu al-ukhaydhir were not active in religion or sectarian preaching, which may explain the weak relations they had with both the Qarmatians and the Zaydis of Yemen. And at the same time, they did not create an inviting situation for the central government to engage them in hostilities.

The Qarmatians had a completely different viewpoint concerning religion. They believed in actively spreading their message to as wide an audience as possible. This position was completely at odds with the reclusive nature of the Banu al-Ukhaydhir, and is most likely one of the main reasons for their mutual hatred. Ibn 'Anaba, a Shi'i genealogist, reported that fullscale warfare between the two parties started in 928 and continued until the downfall of the Banu al-Ukhaydhir dynasty sometime around the beginning of the 11th century[31].

A modern scholar has suggested that the clash between the Qarmatians and the Banu al-Ukhaydhir broke out earlier than the date given by Ibn Anaba. He feels that the date of the pronouncement of the Banu al-Ukhaydhir dynasty was actually marked by the beginning of the flight between the two parties[32].

In fact, one must rely on the earliest accounts concerning the hostile relationship between the two dynasties. Ibn Hazm, for example, believes that the war started in the reign of the third emir, Isma'il bin Yusuf bin Muhammad, who was killed in a battle which occurred between the two parties in 928[33]. Ibn 'Anaba asserts that the year 928 during the reign of Isma'il, marked the biggest battle between the Qarmatians and the Banu al-Ukhaydhir. He added that Muhammad bin Yusuf bin Muhammad's offspring, Ibrahim, Idris the Great and al-Hasan were killed in the bloody battle against the Qarmatians, but the hostility and the military clashes started before the battle of 928[34].

The off-and-on military clashes which occurred between the Banu al-Ukhaydhir and the Qarmatians

Ibn Anaba, Umda, 100;
Al-Qalqashandi, Nihayat, 90;
Munajjim Bashi, Jami al-Duwul, 134B, 144A.

(31) Ibn Anaba, Umda, 113-115; Tabari, Tarikh, 1: 77...

(32) Zambaur, Manuel, 174.

(33) Ibn Hazm, Jamhara, 46.

(34) Ibn 'Anaba, 'Umda, 113; al-Masu'di, Abu al-Hasan..., al-Tanbih Wa al-Ishraf.

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defined the history of the Banu al-Ukhaydhir dynasty. It seems, however, that the Qarmatians were unable to defeat the Banu al-Ukhaydhir in the great battle of 928 as many historians were led to believe. On the contrary, the leadership of the Banu al-Ukhaydhir in al-Yamama continued at least a century after the battle of the year 928. Nasir Khusraw visited al-Yamama in 1052 and witnessed the strength and prosperity of al-Yamama. He wrote, "No power could have ousted the Banu al-Ukhaydhir from al-Yamama. There is no power other than that of the al-Ukhaydhir in al-Yamama"[35]. However, the Qarmatians controlled most of Arabia in 930, so historians tend to consider al-Yamama among the regions affected by this control[36].

SECT

It is clear that the Banu al-Ukhaydhir were Zaydis, a branch of the 'Alawids. They followed Zaydis teaching in the practice of the adhen, zakat and other related religious rituals. Reports mention that members of the Banu al-Ukhaydhir were proud of their religious and noble kinship and sought to preserve it[37]. However, there is no clear evidence that they worked with ambition or motivation to spread their doctrine in al-Yamama. One has to wonder at the apparent lack of zeal exhibited by the Banu al-Ukhaydhir[38]. Zaydis were typically known for the fervour with which they tried to spread their beliefs. One may also wonder at the type of relationship which the Banu al-Ukhaydhir would have had with their more active counterparts, other 'Alawids and Zaydis in Arabia and the Zaydi dynasty in the Yemen. In light of the absence of any documented evidence to guide us in this matter, one may assume that they were not active in regard to sectarian ambitions. The present researcher tends to believe that they were not even active in local religious preaching for their sect. This would tend to explain how they were easily accepted by the Yamami locals, who apparently had no interest in religious matters but appeared far more interested in achieving political ambitions, i.e. secession from the 'Abbasid Caliphate. One point which further supports the idea that the Banu al-Ukhaydhir were not active in spreading Zaydism is the fact that there is no Zaydi community in the al-Yamama region today, nor has there been at any time in the past according to historical accounts.

The Zaydi dynasty in the Yemen sent a preacher to al-Yamama in the period between 881 and 915. The result of this mission is unknown. The Banu al-Ukhaydhir had been established in the region for around sixteen years at the point when this preacher would have traveled to al-Yamama. Also, Isma'ili preachers were sent to Arabia, including al-Yamama, around 883. The result of this mission is unknown as well. The fact that there are no records to describe the missions of these preachers once again shows the disinterest which the Banu al-Ukhaydhir had in making common cause with other Shi'i groups[39].

Moreover, our sources make no mention of learning centers having ever existed in al-Yamama during the reign of the Banu al-Ukhaydhir dynasty. Al-Yamama had entered a period of ignorance not only in the area of religion, but in other areas of knowledge as well. During the more than two centuries rule of Banu al-Ukhaydhir, the absence of centers of learning in al-Yamama seems to have been a prelude for the much longer period of ignorance which was to follow. From the 8th century till the 17th century al-Yamama went without any type of established educational centers. Thus, one could blame this lack of learning on the Banu al-Ukhaydhir dynasty for not being willing to formalize religious activities, which would have laid the ground work for establishing education.

ECONOMY

As far as the economic situation is concerned, it seems that the eastern and central regions of the Arabian peninsula witnessed a development in craftsmanship in the 9th century. The appearance of the products of this new craftsmanship led to the establishment of vocational groups, who had no ties to the central government in Baghdad. This lack of cooperation opened the way for the Banu al-Ukhaydhir to win those groups' support[40].

The Banu al-Ukhaydhir transformed the land laws which were prevailing in al-Yamama to a new system referred to as "partnership", although we do not have enough information on this new system to be able to describe exactly how it worked[41]. However, modern scholars believe that the partnership system is similar to the system which was introduced and practiced in Iraq during the Caliphate of al-Mahdi (775-785). Under that particular system, a governor of a given region received a designated share of the goods produced by the populace. This share was exacted in addition to the usual Zakat payment[42]. There are various accounts which indicate that the partnership system was not accepted by the people of al-Yamama. Other accounts point out that several families of Banu Hanifa, long-term inhabitants of al-Yamama, migrated to Basra and Egypt as a result of the imposition of the new land law[43]

(35) Nasir Khusraw, Safar Namah, 141.

(36) Ibn al-Jawzi, al-Muntazam fi Tarikh al-Muluk...

(37) Nasir Khusraw, Safar Namah, 143.

(38) Al-Khwansari, Mirza, Rawdat al-Janat...

(39) Al-Yameni, 'Amara, al-Mufid...;
Al-Banakti, Tarikh, 159;
Nasir Khusraw, Safar Namah, 141.

(40) Nasir Khusraw, Safar Namah, 141.

(41) Yaqut, Mu'jam, 4: 319; al-Yaqubi, Tarikh, 100; Ibn Hawqal, Surat, 53.

(42) Ibn Hawqal, Surat, 38; al-Yaqubi, Tarikh, 1: 141.

(43) Yaqut, Mujam, 4: 319; al-Yaqubi, Tarikh, 100.

A careful investigation of all the reports detailing this migration seems to suggest that the Banu Hanifa migration may not have been a result of the new land law after all. A drought afflicted al-Yamama around the same period (probably the tenth century) and caused many families to uproot themselves and seek neighbouring lands. The constant warfare with the Qarmatians may have taken its toll on some of these families, and been another factor in their decision to leave. Some of the emigrants were miners who headed for Egypt in order to find work in the mining industry. This could indicate that the mines of al-Yamama were exhausted by this time, furthering al-Yamama's economic decline. Also, the Bedouins seem to have been gaining the upper hand over the Yamamis as a result of close ties which they had developed with the Banu al-Ukhaydhir, making the atmosphere generally less friendly for the Yamamis all together[44].

These sources also indicate that the Banu al-Ukhaydhir in later days faced silent opposition and resentment from their Yamami subjects. Those who chose to stand against the Banu al-Ukhaydhir had their land and possessions confiscated by the Banu al-Ukhaydhir a bad name, and historians concluded that the ruling family was malicious and greedy[45]. Nevertheless, there is no single incident in the available sources to indicate that the Banu al-Ukhaydhir seized the local Yamami's possessions prior to their departure. Moreover, the Banu al-Ukhaydhir were few in number in al-Yamama, and it would not have been in their overall interest to carry out such unpopular policies.

One particular account we can use to interpret the migration of the Banu Hanifa and their abandonment of their possessions is that of Ibn Sa'id, who interviewed some pilgrims from Bahrayn, asking them about the Banu Hanifa. They informed him that there was no trace of the Banu Hanifa in al-Yamama. In other words, most of the Banu Hanifa had left al-Yamama. This interview is dated to the early 10th century[46].

It is clear that the Banu Hanifa's numbers dwindled and that their strength diminished. This situation did not begin with the onset of the Banu al-Ukhaydhir dynasty, but began during the seventh century, when the Banu Hanifa faced a drastic defeat during the Ridda war. From that time on, the Banu Hanifa were regarded as opponents of the calipate, especially since they gave their support to the secession of al-Yamama from the central government. Besides, the Banu Hanifa lost their land, so most of them either left for other areas in or out of Arabia. Others chose to stay, but had to enter new tribal alliances, and so a result carried the name of those tribal alliances[47]. Thus, all the remaining Banu Hanifa members would have been carrying the names of these new tribal alliances when the pilgrims from Bahrayn passed through al-Yamama, and the pilgrims would not have been aware of this development.

SOCIETY

From the scant information available, one may conclude that the Banu al-Ukhaydhir paid little attention to the social life of the Yamamis. The Banu al-Ukhaydhir were mainly interested in controlling the revenue of the region, which can be assumed to have been fairly high, as al-Yamama was rich in minerals and agriculture. The Banu al-Ukhaydhir did not organize religious assemblies for their sect, nor did they try to campaign against the 'Abbasid Caliphate. This position on the part of the Banu al-Ukhaydhir may explain various statements by a contemporary historian, al-Tabari, who consistently considered al-Yamama as part of the 'Abbasid Caliphate, regardless of its isolationist stance with the central government. In fact, the Banu al-Ukhaydhir adopted a position of neutrality vis-a-vis the struggle between the central government of the 'Abbasids and the 'Alawid movements in Arabia.

This relaxed approach toward religious affairs did not serve other social causes. One example, as previously mentioned, is the matter of education, which is always attached to religion in Islam. The Banu al-Ukhaydhir apparently spent no money to bring in scholars nor did they establish mosques as centres for religion or learning. But we find that the Banu al-Ukhaydhir imposed a high rate of taxation on trade and agriculture, which made life very difficult for the Yamamis[48].

The lack of education and high tax rate caused many people to leave al-Yamama. Therefore, the Banu al-Ukhaydhir brought in slaves to work the farms, mines, and to serve in the army positions vacated by the Yamamis. This policy eventually led to a confrontation between the people of al-Yamama and the Banu al-Ukhaydhir, for these slaves had been encouraged to take over the farms and mines of the Yamamis who left. At this point, the Banu al-Ukhaydhir began to make pacts with the local Bedouins to insure the safety of its new allies, the slaves and their own protection[49].

But encouraging Bedouins to interfere with the internal affairs of al-Yamama began to weaken al-Yamama and the Banu al-Ukhaydhir as well. Production in agriculture and mining slowed down due to the fact that the Bedouins who began to take over certain areas had not the slightest idea as to how to mine or farm. They also were not particularly adept in the area of trade. Later, the Bedouins began to impose tribute on the Yamamis, which made the situation even more difficult.

(44) Ibn Khaldun, al-Íbar, 6: 25; Ibn al-Faqih, abu Bakr, Kitab al-Buldan.

(45) Ibn Hawqal, Surat, 25.

(46) Al-Qalqashandi, Subh al-A'sha, 5: 60.

(47) Ibn 'Anaba, 'Umda, 116.

(48) Ibn Hawqal, Surat, 53.

(49) Ibn al-Faqih, al-Buldan, 29.

Al-Suwaydi, Mohammad, Sabk al-Dhahab..., 179.

It is worth noting that up to the present day in Saudi Arabia, the term Banu Khadhir (sing. Khadhiri), has been used generically to describe Arabs of dubious ancestry, unrecognized as descendants of any known Arabian tribes. The origins of the term Khadhir is unknown, but its spelling, in any case, is similar enough to Ukhaydhir to be a derivative. Individuals who have this name do not compose a tribe, nor have they ever composed a tribe in the past. It is interesting to note that there are a good number of individuals in the various towns of Najd (formerly known as al-Yamama), who are called by Banu Khadhir[50]. Many Banu Khadhir work as farm laborers for Arab land owners of pure descent. There is a strong social taboo associated with the name Banu Khadhir. No Arab of pure descent, no matter how humble, will allow his daughter to be wed to a Khadhiri, no matter how high a station in life that Khadhiri may have achieved[51].

THE DOWNFALL OF THE BANU AL-UKHAYDHIR

The fifth generation of the Banu al-Ukhaydhir was subjected to division and conflict. Assassination within the ruling house was often practiced, such as that of Muhammad bin Ahmed bin al-Hasan bin Yusuf, who was killed by his brother Ja'far, who then dethroned his uncle 'Ali, and assumed the throne himself for a short time. He was soon overthrown, killed by his cousin Kirzab bin 'Ali[52].

It is most likely that the ruling family did not easily resolve their conflicts over politics or sharing the revenue of al-Yamama. They were also plagued by their wars with the Qarmatians. Thus, the Banu al-Ukhaydhir gradually entered into alliances with different tribal clans who already had the upper hand in the region. Those tribal leaders assumed a political role and exerted their influence to control the affairs of the Banu al-Ukhaydhir court, much as the Turkish generals had done in the 'Abbasid caliphate.

Taj al-Din, a Shi'i historian and genealogist, reported that the Banu al-Ukhaydhir entered into alliances with the tribes of Banu 'Amr and Banu 'Abid. Moreover, he added that the Banu al-Ukhaydhir were ignorant of their being 'Alawids, but that they carried out the name of Banu Yusuf (not Banu al-Ukhaydhir)[53].

It is probably around the beginning of the 11th century that the assimilation of the Banu al-Ukhaydhir into other tribes became complete. Some historians reported that by the time they assimilated into these other tribes, they only consisted of approximately 1,000 horsemen, which means they were few in number. If we consider that the numbers of their slaves usually served as horseman along with their masters[54], the picture of their assimilation becomes clear. However, by this time they had completely disappeared from the political scene of al-Yamama. At this point, the Banu Kilab, an Arabian tribe, had settled in al-Yamama and established their hegemony over it. They ruled over it until they, in turn, were overthrown by the Banu 'Usfur, who successfully ruled al-Yamama and Bahrayn until 1252.

Hence, the awareness and ambitions of the Yamamis did not come to an end with the downfall of the Banu al-Ukhaydhir dynasty. It was carried on by different groups and individuals until the region of al-Yamama could finally achieve its goal in the 18th century under one religious and political banner, the Wahhabi movement. The Wahhabiya not only established an autonomous state in al-Yamama, which was thereafter called Najd but made the region into a centre of power controlling most of the Arabian Peninsula, including Medina, Mecca, and al-Bahrayn.

CONCLUSION

In the 'Abbasid era, the Yamamis did not give up their attempts to regain their own autonomy. Even though there was no local leader to lead them. Their region became less important due to the 'Abbasid caliphate's policy in which the Arab elements, including the Yamamis were replaced by non-Arabs. The central government in Baghdad also showed no desire to squander money and effort in order to firmly control the remote parts of the caliphate. Furthermore, the wails (governors) of these areas greatly relished their independence. The governor of al-Yamama was no exception.

During the ninth century, in spite of the warfare among the tribes in the region and economic depression, the Yamamis apparently managed to form the majority of the population. Nevertheless, the 'Abbasid policy and relaxed conditions in the region, which the tribes around al-Yamama enjoyed led to a governmental and security vacuum.

A Zaydi leader, Muhammad bin Yusuf al-Ukhaydhir saw that al-Yamama was a suitable place to establish a Zaydi principality. After he was forced to leave al-Hijaz, Muhammad fled to al-Yamama, where he resided in the district of al-Khadharim and announced his independent dynasty, naming al-Khadharim his capital. It seems that the Yamamis welcomed this move, hoping to regain their independence from the 'Abbasid caliphate. Had the Yamamis not helped the Banu al-Ukhaydhir, the latter would have been unable to revolt in al-Yamama against the caliphate.

Apparently al-Yamama became a safe haven for 'Alawid revolts during their reign. This is apparent from the many 'Alawid names among the visitors to the region during the reign of the Banu al-

(50) Lorimer, J., Gazetter of the Persian Gulf..., 2: 1004.

(51) Rents, G., Encyclopedia of Islam, 4: 905.
Abdullah bin Khamis, Tarikh al-Yamama, 3: 250.

(52) Ibn 'Anaba, 'Umda, 116.

(53) Ibn Khaldun, Al-Ibar, 6: 25.

(54) Ibn 'Anaba, 'Umda, 116; al-Jahiz, Kitab al-Buldan, 472.

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Ukhaydhir, in particular the Hasanid branch, who settled in or visited al-Yamama for a short time. A present day genealogist was able to trace the lineage of families currently living in Najd (al-Yamama) back to their Hasanid roots.

It seems that the Banu al-Ukhaydhir did not preach, nor did they actively spread their doctrine. They established no centres of learning, and the lack of education colored the region for the next seven centuries. Social life changed in the region. With the practice of encouraging Bedouins and slaves to enter al-Yamama leading to a Bedouin take over of power. In the case of the slaves, their culture and way of life conflicted in some areas with that of the Yamamis.

The Banu al-Ukhaydhir engaged in warfare with their eastern neighbours, the Qarmatians, which resulted in a weakening of the dynasty. As a result, the Banu al-Ukhaydhir sought assistance from neighbouring tribes, such as the Banu Kilab and Banu 'Amir, who firmly established their power not only over the government, but over the Yammamis as well. Eventually, the Yamamis found themselves in the position of having to pay tribute to these tribes in exchange for security and protection. Moreover, the Banu al-Ukhaydhir lost their authority and gradually assimilated into local tribal bodies. Modern scholars have debated the final date of the downfall of the dynasty, but evidence points to the 11th century.

In light of these new developments, inhabitants of al-Yamama's towns and settlements either entered into agreements with the Bedouin or sought protection from outside powers. Bedouin attacks on these towns and settlements became a daily event. Most of the towns developed a city-state type of rule. This condition continued until the 18th century. The emergence of a new religo-political movement, the Wahhabi, reaffirmed the unity of the region by establishing the Saudi dynasty.

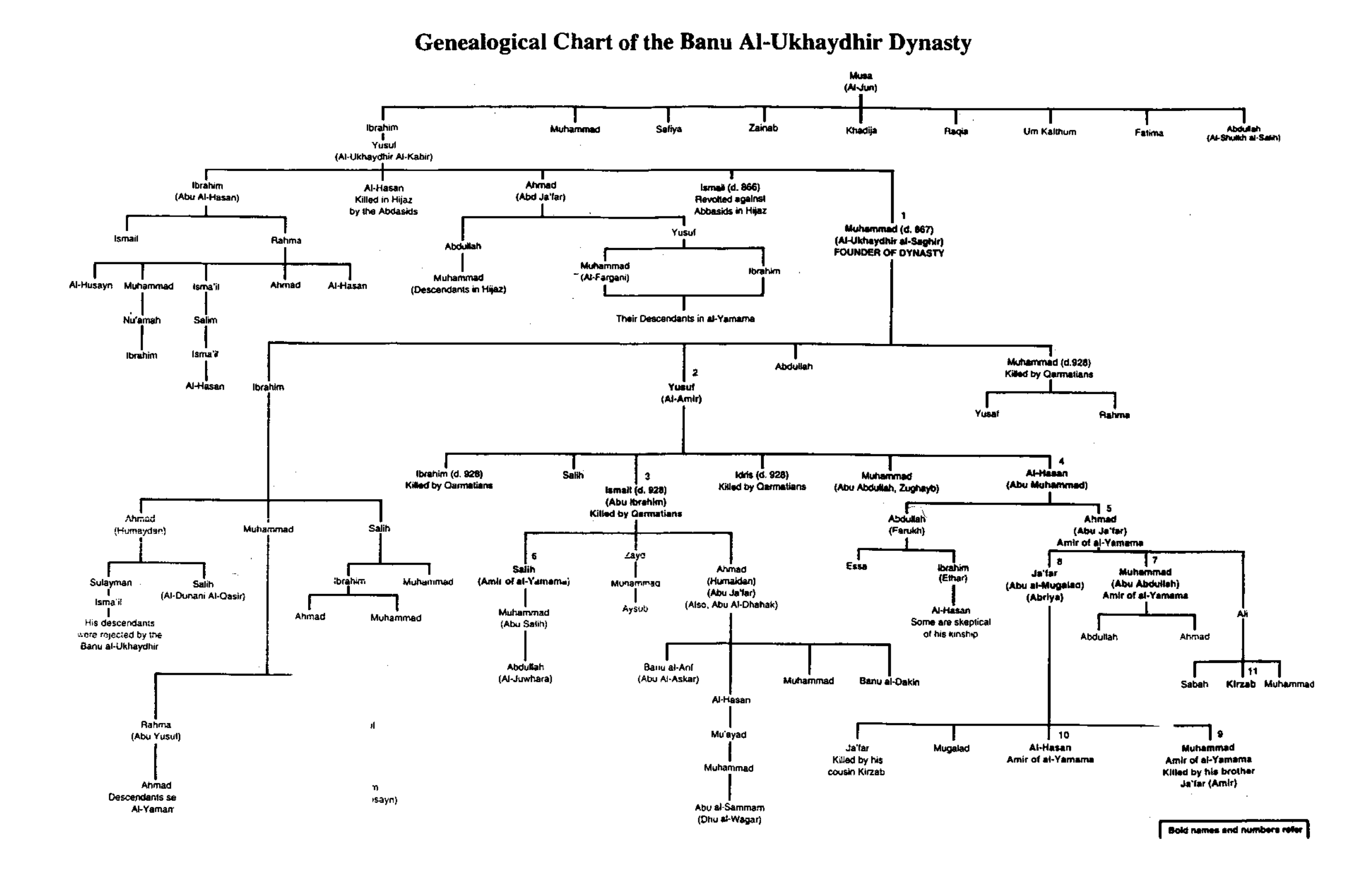
NOTES ON THE CHART

Musa bin 'Abdullah bin al-Hasan bin al-Hasan bin 'Ali bin Abi Talib died in Iraq during the caliphate of Harun al-Rashid (r. 786-809). He was nicknamed al-Jun. His many offspring were involved in the formation of different 'Alawid states or dynasties and many participated in revolts against the central government. The genealogical chart begins with Musa al-Jun for the reason that he is really the cornerstone from which one can trace progeny whose activities touched al-Yamama in some way or another, including the children of his six daughters. The descendants appearing on the chart were known to have stayed in the region of al-Yamama for various lengths of time, some settled there permanently (See Ibn Tabataba, Abu Isma'il Ibrahim bin Nasir, an eleventh century genealogist, *Muntaqalat al-Talibiya*, ed. Muhammad Mahdi al-Sayyid al-Khurasani, (Najaf, al-Haydariyya Press, 1968) 357, 357-358).

The names appearing on the chart were collected from various published and unpublished sources dealing with the subjects of genealogy, history and religion. Some of the obstacles encountered in researching this topic are as follows: (i) Names of individuals which appeared in several sources were often times different or even contradictory, (ii) No source mentions more than five names in one chain, making it necessary to use many different sources in order to complete a ful chain, decreasing the odds for accuracy, (iii) Most names in the chains are similar, if not identical. For example, the names of Muhammad, Isma'il, Ja'far and al-Hasan appear with such frequency that it becomes difficult to trace the lineage of these individuals. For this reason, sources differ in determining which Isma'il was killed along with his nephews in a bloody battle with the Qarmatians. Was it Isma'il bin Yusuf bin Muhammad, Isma'il bin Muhammad bin Muhammad or Isma'il bin Ahmad bin Ibrahim bin Muhammad? (See Ibn 'Anaba, 'Umda, 113, Abu Nasir al-Bukhari, Sahl bin Abdullah (living 952), *Sirr al-Silsila al-'Alawiya*, ed. Muhammad Sadiq al-Bahar, (Najaf, al-Maktaba al-Haydariya 1963); 10) Compare this with Ibn Ma'iya, *Sabk al-Dhahab*, folio 41), (iv) Sources are also different in the naming and the ordering of the rulers (compare Ibn 'Anaba, 'Umda, 113-114 with Munejjim Bashi, Jami' al-Duwal, folios 134 B and 144A).

Hence, most of the genealogical data is based on the following manuscripts; *al-Mushajjar* of Abu al-Muhanna, *al-Asayli* of Ibn al-Tiqtaqa, *Sabk al-Dhahab* of Ibn 'Anaba, Zahrat al-Riyadh Wa Zilal al-Hiyadh of al-Hasan Shadqam and *Jami' al-Duwal* of Munajjim Bashi. Also, *'Umda al-Talib* of Ibn 'Anaba, which have been exhaustively consulted. Some dates and names are taken, if not mentioned in the manuscripts, from: Al-Razi, Fakhr al-Din Muhammad bin 'Umar (d. 1149), *al-Shajara al-Mubaraka Fi Ansab al-Talibiya*, (Qum, Maktabat al-Marsha'i 1989), Abdulrahman bin Muhammad al-Mashhur, *Shams al-Dhahira*, ed. Muhammad Zia Shihab (Jedda, 'Alim al-Kutub, 1984). Also compare with al-Bayhaqi, *Lubab al-Ansab*.

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Genealogical Chart of the Banu Al-Ukhaydhir Dynasty
Musa (Al-Jun)
Ibrahim
Muhammad
Safiya
Zainab
Khadija
Raqia
Um Kalthum
Fatima
Abdullah (Al-Shaikh al-Salih)
Yusuf (Al-Ukhaydhir Al-Kabir)
Ibrahim (Abu Al-Hasan)
Al-Hasan Killed in Hijaz by the Abbasids
Ahmad (Abd Ja'far)
Ismail (d. 866) Revolted against Abbasids in Hijaz
1 Muhammad (d. 867) (Al-Ukhaydhir al-Saghir) FOUNDER OF DYNASTY
Ismail
Rahma
Abdullah
Muhammad (Descendants in Hijaz)
Yusuf
Muhammad (Al-Fargani)
Ibrahim
Their Descendants in al-Yamama
Al-Husayn
Muhammad
Isma'il
Ahmad
Al-Hasan
Nu'amah
Salim
Ibrahim
Isma'il
Al-Hasan
Ibrahim
2 Yusuf (Al-Amir)
Abdullah
Muhammad (d.928) Killed by Qarmatians
Yusuf
Rahma
Ibrahim (d. 928) Killed by Qarmatians
Salih
3 Ismail (d. 928) (Abu Ibrahim) Killed by Qarmatians
Idris (d. 928) Killed by Qarmatians
Muhammad (Abu Abdullah, Zughayb)
4 Al-Hasan (Abu Muhammad)
Ahmad (Humaydan)
Muhammad
Salih
Sulayman
Isma'il
His descendants were rejected by the Banu al-Ukhaydhir
Salih (Al-Dunani Al-Qasir)
Ibrahim
Muhammad
Ahmad
Muhammad
6 Salih (Amir of al-Yamama)
Muhammad (Abu Salih)
Abdullah (Al-Juwhara)
Zayd
Muhammad
Aysub
Ahmad (Humaidan) (Abu Ja'far) (Also, Abu Al-Dhahak)
Banu al-Anf (Abu Al-Askar)
Muhammad
Banu al-Dakin
Al-Hasan
Mu'ayad
Muhammad
Abu al-Sammam (Dhu al-Wagar)
Abdullah (Farukh)
Essa
Ibrahim (Ethar)
Al-Hasan Some are skeptical of his kinship
5 Ahmad (Abu Ja'far) Amir of al-Yamama
8 Ja'far (Abu al-Mugalad) (Abriya)
7 Muhammad (Abu Abdullah) Amir of al-Yamama
Ali
Abdullah
Ahmad
Sabah
11 Kirzab
Muhammad
Rahma (Abu Yusuf)
Ahmad
Descendants se Al-Yaman
Ja'far Killed by his cousin Kirzab
Mugalad
10 Al-Hasan Amir of al-Yamama
9 Muhammad Amir of al-Yamama Killed by his brother Ja'far (Amir)
Bold names and numbers refer

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تاريخ إمارة بني الأخيضر في اليمامة

عبد الله العسكر*

ملخـــص

يعالج هذا البحث تاريخ إمارة بني الأخيضر في منطقة اليمامة، وهي المنطقة التي اشتهرت بتطلعاتها السياسية. كان اقليم اليمامة إحدى المناطق الغنية من الناحية الاقتصادية في قلب جزيرة العرب خلال العصور الاسلامية المبكرة. وتطور فيها تبعاً لذلك الشعور الاقليمي، فكانت مكاناً مناسباً لمحمد بن يوسف الأخيضر، الذي قدم إليها من الحجاز، لتأسيس إمارة زيدية في القرن الثالث الهجري/التاسع الميلادي. ويبدو أن أهالي اليمامة رحبوا بقدومه أملاً في الحصول على استقلالهم عن الخلافة العباسية.

لم يحظ تاريخ اليمامة المبكر، وكذلك تاريخ أسرة بني الأخيضر باهتمام العلماء؛ نظراً لشح المادة المكتوبة. وقد فحص هذا البحث كل المصادر الأولية المتاحة، التي وردت فيها إشارات متفرقة لتاريخ بني الأخيضر، مثل كتب التاريخ والأدب والجغرافيا وعلم النسب.

وتمكن البحث من خلال المعلومات الضئيلة من تقصي آثار هذه الأسرة في اليمامة، في كل المجالات الداخلية والخارجية، وتعقب العوامل التي ساهمت في اختفاء هذه الأسرة من المسرح السياسي في القرن الخامس الهجري/الحادي عشر الميلادي. إلا أن اختفاءها لم يضع حداً لطموحات أهل اليمامة السياسية.

FOOTNOTES

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1. The manuscripts of al-Mushajjar by Ibn al-Muhanna (a 13th century genealogist) and *al-Asayli* by Ibn al-Tiqtaqa, Mohammad bin Ali Tabataba (d. 1309). These two manuscripts are among the private collection of Husayn Mahfoudh, a distinguished Iraqi scholar. See Nizar 'Abdulatif, "Imara Banu al - Ukhydhir Fi al-Yamama", College of Arts Bulletin, Vol. 2, No. 21, (Baghdad 1977), 139.
2. Al-Banakti, Fakhr al-Din Dawud bin Taj al-'Arifin Mohammad (d. 1329)., *Rawdat Ula al-Albab fi Ma'rifat al-Tawrikh Wa al-Ansab*. The manuscript well known as *Tarikh al-Banakti* was edited by Ja'far Shear and published by Entesharat Anjuman Asar-e Meli, (Tehran 1969). The manuscript not the published one, was used for this study.
3. Ibn Ma'iya , Mohammad bin al-Qasim b. *al-Hasan bin al-Qasim bin Muhammad* bin al-Hasan bin Ma'iya al- Hasani (d. 1374). *Sabk al-Dhahab fi Ma'rifat al-Nasab*. Arabic Manuscripts Institute, Cairo, Ms. Hist. No. 1713.
4. Ibn 'Anaba, Jamal al-Din Ahmad bin Ali al-Husayni (d. 1424). *Bahr al-Ansab*. Arabic Manuscripts Institute, Cairo, Ms. Hist. No. 1418.
5. Al-Hasan Shadqam (d. 16th century), *Zaharat al-Riyadh Wa Zilal al-Hiyadh*, in the Taymur collection of the Dar al-Kutub al-Misriya. For details on this manuscript and its importance for the history of al-Yamama, see Hamad al-Jasir "Ayyam Fi London", Majallat al-Arab, year 9 (Riyadh 1974), 1-2: 82-89.
6. Munajjim Bashi, Ahmed bin Lutf Allah (d. 1702), *Jami' al-Duwal*, Ahmet III Kutuphane, Top Kapi Sary, Ms. No. 2954. Istanbul.
7. Most historians and genealogists traced the family of the Banu al-Ukhaydhir back to al-Hasan bin 'Ali bin Abi Talib. See Ibn al-Muhanna, *al-Mushajjar*, folos. 31-32, Ibn al-Taqtaqi, *al-Asayli*, folos. 23-35. Ibn 'Anaba, *Umda al-Talib fi Ansab Al Abi Talib*. (Najaf, Dar al-Andulus, 1988), 111-115. and idem *Bahr al-Ansab*. folos. 24-29. However, some traced them to al-Husyan, not al-Hasan, See al-Qalqashandi, Abu al-'Abbas Ahmad (d. 1818) *Nihayat al-Arab fi Ma'rifat Ansab al-Arab* ed. Ibrahim al-Abyari, (Cairo, Dar al-Kitab al-Misri, 1982), 89, although he traced them to al-Hasan in his other book: *Subh al-A'sha*, (Cairo, Amiriya Press, 1915), 5: 60.
8. Al-Tabari, Muhammad bin Jarir (d. 922). *Tarikh al-Rusul Wa al-Muluk*, ed. M. Abu al-Fadhil Ibrahim, (Cairo, Dar al-Ma'rif, 1968), 9: 372, 10: 75.
9. The head of the 'Alawids of Syria ignored the Banu al-Ukhaydhir in his book. See Ibn Zuhra, Taj al-Din bin Muhammad bin Hamza (d. 1515). *Ghayat al-Ikhtisar fi Akhbar al-Buyutat al-'Alawiyya al-Mahf'uza min al-Ghubar*. (Cairo, al-Amiyria Press, 1310 A.H.). Some scholars are skeptical about the lineage of the Banu al-Ukhaydhir, which may explain them not being mentioned by some of the Shi'i genealogists, see Abu Al-Faraj al-Isbahani (d. 976) (d. 869) *Maqatil al-Talibiyyin*, ed. Ahmad Saqr, (Cairo, Dar Ihiya al-Kutub al-Arabiya, 1949) 705. Abdullah bin Khamis, among many contemporary writers, believes that Banu al-Ukhaydhir inforced their sect over the Yamamais. See his book, *Mu'jam al-Yamama*, (Riyadh, al-Farazdaq Press, 1978), 41.
10. See Ibn Rusta, Abu 'Ali Ahmad (d. 902), *al-A'laq al-Nafisa*, ed. M.J. de Goeje (Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1891) 182. Also see al-Qazwayni, Zakariya bin Muhammad (d. 1283) *Athar al-Bilad wa Akhbar al 'Ibad* (Beirut, Dar Sadr, 1961) 13. Aslo Abu al-Fida, 'Imad al-Din Isma'il (d. 1331), *Taqwim al-Buldan*, ed. M. Reinaud et. al., (Paris, the Royal Press, 1840), 11, 97.
11. Yaqut al-Hamawi, Shihab al-Din Abdullah (d. 1228), *Mu'jam al-Buldan*, ed. F. Wustenfeld (Leipzig 1886) 2: 209. Al-Bakri, Abu Ubayda Abdullah bin Abdulaziz (d.) *Mu'jam Ma Ist'ajam*, ed. Mustafa al-Saqa (Cairo, Matb'at Lajnat al-Ta'lif Wa al-Nashr, 1945), 83.
12. Al-Bakri, *Mu'jam*, 85.
13. Khalifa bin Khayyat, Abu 'Umar al-'Usfuri (d. 854), *Kitab al-Tarikh*, ed. Suhayl Zakkar, (Damascus, Wazarat al-Thaqafa Wa al-Irshad al-Qawmi, 1967) 1:107. Al-Baladhuri, Ahmad bin Yahya (d. 892) *Ansab al-Ashraf*, ed. D. F. Goitein (Jerusalem, 1936), 5: 346.
14. Tabari, *Tarikh*, 3: 138.
15 The annextion of al-Yamama to Mecca was due to economic considerations, since Mecca depended on the wheat of al-Yamama. See Al-Zubayri, Mus'ab bin Abdullah (d. 850) *Nasab Quraysh*, (Cairo, Dar al-

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Ma'rif Lil Tiba'a Wa al-Nashr, 1959) 33-38. Also see Tabari, *Tarikh*, 3: 138.

16. Tabari, *Tarikh*, 3: 416.
17. Tabari, Tarikh, 3: 367, 506. al-Ya'qubi, Ahmad bin Abi Ya'qub (d. 904), *Tarikh*, ed. M. T. Houtsma, (Leiden, 1883), 1: 436.
18. Ibn Khaldun, Abu Yazid Abdulrahman bin Muhammad (d. 1405) *Kitab al-'Ibar Wa Diwan al-Mubtada Wa al-Khabar*, (Beirut, 1971), 3: 589.
19. Nasir Khusraw (d. 1088), *Safar Namah*, trans. Yahya al-Khashshab, (Cairo, Lajnat al-Ta'lif Wa al-Tarjama Wa al-Nashr, 1945), 144.
20. For the definition of *Akhdhar* see Al-Zubaidi, Sayyid al-Murtada (d. 1616), *Taj al-Arus*, (Kuwait, Matba'at al-Hukuma 1965) article "Khadhra". For the definition of Khadhra which means plenty of water, see Ibn Manzur, Muhammad bin Makram (d. 1311) *Lisan al-Arab*. (Beirut, Dar Beirut 1955) article "Khadhram".
21. Tabari, *Tarikh*, 9: 166.
22. Ibn 'Anaba, *'Umda*, 111.
23. Tabari, *Tarikh*, 3: 644. Ibn Hazm Ali bin Ahmad (d. 1063) *Jamhara Ansab al-Arab*, ed. 'Abd al-Assalam Harun, (Cairo, Dar al-Ma'rif, 1971) 46. Also see al-Qalqashandi, *Nihayat al-Arab*, where he called Isma'il al-Saffah (The Shedder of Blood) 89. While Munajjim Bashi called him *al-Saffak* (Murderer). See *Jami' al-Duwal*, folio 443.
24. Ibn 'Anaba, *Umda*, 113. Al-'Usami, Abdulmalik b. Husayn (d. 1699) *Simt al-Nujum al-'Awali Fi Anaba' al-Awa'il Wa al-Tawali*, ed. Muhibb al-Din al-Khatib, (Cairo, al-Maktaba al-Salafiya 1960) 4: 115. Al-Bayhaqi, Ali bin Zayd known as Ibn Funduq (d. 1169) reported that Isma'il was killed by an arrow inside the Grand Mosque in Mecca and burried in the Al-'Ala' cemetary in Mecca. See his *Lubab al-Ansab*, ed. Mahdi al-Raja'i (Qum, 1410 A.H.) 1: 416.
25. Tabari, *Tarikh*. 3: 644. Ibn 'Anaba, *Umda*, 113.
26. See Ibn al-Tiqtaqa, *al-Asayli*, folios 23-85. Al-Qalqashandi, *Nihayat*, 90. Munajjim Bashi, *Jam'i al-Duwal*, folio 134 B. Ibn Hazm, *Jamhara*, 46. On the other hand Ibn Hawqal, Abu al-Qasim Muhammad (d. 977), *Surat al-Ardh*, M. de Goeje, (Leiden, E. J. Brill 1873) 53, gives the date as 852 and Edward Zambaur, in his *Manuel de Genealogie et de chronolgie pour L'Historie de L'Islam*, trans. Zaki Hasan Bey et al. (Cairo, Fuad Univ. Press 1951) 1: 177 gives 868. Both dates are in conflict with the sequence of the events. If one, for example, accepted 868 as Zambaur believed, then the reign of the founder of the dynasty Mohammad and his son Yusuf and his grandson Isma'il would have been one reign ending in 928, given that Muhammad was 42 years old when he came to al-Yamama in 866. This would mean that Muhammad would have lived to the age of 104 years old, and this seems unlikely. See Ibn Hazm, *Jamhara*, 47.
27. Ibn al-Tiqtaqa, *al-Asayli*, folio 23. Qutba bint 'Amir from Banu al-Tafil bin Malik bin Ja'far bin Kilab was Muhammad's grandmother on his father's side, Ibid. folio 83. Also see al-Qalqashandi, *Qala'id al-Juman*, ed. Ibrahim al-Abiyari, (Cairo, Dar al-Kutub al-Islamiya, 1982), 46-47.
28. Nasir Khusraw, *Safar Namah*. 141. It is likely *al-Khadhrama* was known by this name before Banu al-Ukhaydhir came to al-Yamama. However, the latter may have gotten their name from the town. At present, there is a group of Yamamis called *Khadhyri or Banu Khadhyr*. This name is associated in Saudi Arabia with a social class distinction. It is possible that they got this name either after the Banu al-Ukhaydhir or after the name of their capital.
29. Ibn 'Anaba. *Sabk al-Dhahab*, folio. 39.
30. For the order of rulers see: Ibn Hazm, *Jamhara*, 46, Ibn Khaldun, *Al-'Ibar*, 4: 22. Ibn 'Anaba, Umda, 100. The third ruler Isma'il bin Yusuf was a crown prince, appointed as heir in his father's lifetime, which seems to be the first time such a procedure was followed. The rulers mentioned in the sources were often amirs. However, some accounts give only the first five amirs, and consider the rest as Qarmatian 'amils (representatives). See Ibn Hazim, *Jamhara*, 46, al-Qalqashandi, *Nihayat*, 90. Compare with Munajjim Bashi, *Jami' al-Duwal*, folios 134 B, 144A.
31. Ibn 'Anaba, *Umda*, 113-115. The emergence of the Qarmatians in eastern Arabia was in the year 899, see Tabari, *Tarikh*, 1: 77. A modern historian feels that the Qarmatians never controlled al-Yamama, see Abdullah al-Shebl, "al-Dawla al-Ukhaydhiriya" *Bulletin of Arabic College*, Imam University. 3 (Riyadh, 1976): 465.
32. Zambaur, *Manuel*, 174.
33. Ibn Hazm, *Jamhara*, 46.
34. Ibn 'Anaba, *Umdat*, 113. Al-Masu'di reported that Isma'il bin Yusuf bin Muhammad (the third ruler) was on good terms with the Qarmatians, as a result of which the latter appointed him as governor of Kufa when it was conquered by them in 927. See Al-Masu'di, Abu al-Hasan 'Ali bin al-Husayn (d. 956) *al-Tanbih Wa al-Ishraf*, (Beirut, Dar al-Turath, 1965) 331. Modern scholars have concluded from the above that, the fortress of al-Ukhaydhir in Iraq, which was some 25 miles from Karbala, was named after Isma'il al-Ukhaydhir. This name was given to the fortress in order to immortalize the good relations between the Qarmatians and the Banu al-Ukhaydhir. See the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd, ed., article "Ukhaydhir". The present researcher is of the openion that al-Masu'di's report, which modern scholars have relied upon, is fictitious, because Isma'il was killed in a battle against the Qarmatians. See Ibn 'Anaba, *'Umda*, 113.
35. Nasir Khusraw, *Safar Namah*, 141.
36. Ibn al-Jawzi, Abu al-Faraj 'Abdulrahman bin Ali (d. 1200), *al-Muntazam fi Tarikh al-Muluk Wa al-Umam*, (Hadir Abad, 1357) 6: 288.
37. Nasir Khusraw, *Safar Namah*, 143.
38. In all Shi'i sources, there is no mention to any individual of the Banu al-Ukhaydhir family by the title of Imam, which indicates that they were not considered religious or sectarian scholars or leaders. See al-Khwansari, Mirza Muhammad Baqir al-Musawi (d. 1895), *Rawdat al-Janat Fi Ahwal al-'Ulama al-Sadat*, (Tehran 1307 AH).
39. Al-Yameni, 'Amara bin Ali (d. 1173), *al-Mufid Fi Tarikh Sana' a Wa Zabid*, known as *Tarikh al-Yamama*, ed. Muhammad bin Ali al-Akwa', (Cairo, Matb'at al-Sa'da, 1976), 143, 174. Also see al-Banakti, *Tarikh*, folio 159. Nasir Khusraw, an Isma'ili philosopher and missionary visited al-Yamama in 1052. See his travel book *Safar Namah*, 141.
40. Naser Khusraw witnessed such groups and described them. See *Safar Namah*, 141.
41. Yaqut, *Mu'jam*, 4: 319, al-Ya'qubi, *Tarikh*, 100. Ibn Hawqal, *Surat*, 53.
42. For more information on al-Muqasama system "partnership" see Ibn Hawqal, *Surat*, 38, al-Ya'qubi, *Tarikh*, 1: 141, N. Abdulatif believes that the

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partnership system introduced by Banu al-Ukhaydhir was similar to al-Muqasama system introduced by the Caliph al-Mahdi, see his article, *Imara*, 131.

43. Yaqut, *Mu'jam*, 4: 319. Al-Ya'qubi, *Tarikh*, 100.
44. Ibn Khaldun, *al-'Ibar*, 6: 25. For more information on drought see Ibn al-Faqih, Abu Bakr Ahmad bin Muhammad al-Hamadani (d. 902) *Kitab al-Buldan*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, (Leiden, E. J. Brill 1885), 29.
45. Ibn Hawqal, *Surat*, 25.
46. Al-Qalqashandi, *Subh al-'A'sha*, 5: 60.
47. Ibn 'Anaba, *Umda*, 116.
48. Ibn Hawqal, *Surat*, 53.
49. Ibn al-Faqih speaks of the many slaves that cultivated the land in al-Yamama, see his book *al-Buldan*, 29. Regarding the presence of the Bedouins in al-Yamama see: al-Suwaydi, Muhammad Amin al-Baghdadi, *Sabk al-Dhahab Fi Ma'rifat Qaba'il al-'Arab*, (Beirut, Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiya, 1986), 179.
50. Lorimer, J., *Gazetter of the Persian Gulf, Oman and Central Arabia*, (Calcutta 1908), 2: 1004.
51. Rents, G., "Khadhir" in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2ed., 4: 905. Also see Abdullah bin Khamis, *Tarikh al-Yamama*, (Riyadh, al-Farazdaq Press, 1990), 3: 250. 'Abdullah bin Khamis believes that the Banu al-Ukhadhir tried to weaken tribal solidarity, and those Yamamis who joined them lost their tribal linage, which may explain the existance of a social class called Banu Khadhir, whose tribal lineage is unknown. See *Mu'jam al-Yamama*, 41.
52. Ibn 'Anaba, *Umda*, 116.
53. Ibn Khaldun, *Al'Ibar*, 6: 25. Hamad al-Jasir was able to trace the lineage of many families from Najd back to their Hasanid roots. See his *Jamhara Ansab al-Usar al-Mutahadhira Fi Najd*, (Riyadh, Dar al-Yamama, 1981), 3 vols.
54. Ibn 'Anaba, *'Umda*, 116. Aslo see al-Jahiz, *Kitab al-Buldan*, ed. Salih al-Ali (Baghdad, Government Press, 1970), 472.